

**REPORT
OF THE
CONSTRUCTIVE WORK COMMITTEE**



**ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
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Report of the Constructive Work Committee

The All India Congress Committee at its Ajmer Session in July 1954 adopted a resolution on Constructive and Developmental Work laying special stress on constructive activities in the country. These activities include the Congress Programme which comprises *inter alia* communal unity, work for Harijans and Adivasis, Bhoodan, cottage and village industries, organisation of Co-operatives and the development programmes under the Five Year Plan. In particular, Congressmen were asked to associate themselves with the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service Schemes, thus helping in the great task of building up a new India. The Congress Working Committee considered this resolution and appointed a Committee of the following members to examine and suggest ways and means of implementing the resolution :

- (1) Dr. K. N. Katju
- (2) Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri
- (3) Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
- (4) Shri Khandubhai Desai
- (5) Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair
- (6) Shri Manickyalal Verma
- (7) Shri Deokinandan Narayan
- and (8) Shri S. N. Agarwal (Convener).

The Committee invited suggestions from the Pradesh Congress Committees and the members of the Congress Working Committee. The Committee met on September 25, November 7, November

26 and December 7, 1954 and discussed the different issues arising out of the resolution of the A.I.C.C. and the ways and means of implementing it.

The Committee unanimously agreed that more emphasis should be laid on Constructive Work to be undertaken by Congressmen, and that it must be explained to the people in general and Congressmen in particular that they should play a very important role in the social and economic development of the country. It was, indeed, a difficult task and demanded tenacity and strength of will. The work of building up a new India was not less arduous than the struggle for Independence. People interested in the same were expected to have courage of conviction and a firm determination to carry it out. The Congress, instead of functioning merely as a political party, should now become an effective instrument of a constructive revolution in the country.

Various items of Constructive Work have been mentioned in the Congress Constitution itself. Every Active member is expected under the rules of the Congress Constitution to choose one or more items of work and devote regularly a part of his time to the same. Active Members are expected to send periodical reports to the P. C. C. about their activities on constructive lines. It must be admitted that this aspect of the Congress Constitution, requiring every Active member to engage himself in nation-building work, has not been taken seriously, and as a result, response from Congressmen has not been satisfactory. The importance of the provision, specifically laid down in the Congress Constitution, has been lost sight of because of certain extraneous factors, conditioning the psychology and behaviour of Congressmen. The main reasons accountable for the same may be summarised as follows :

(a) After Independence, the Congress assumed office and the successes in the General Elections of 1946 and 1952 devolved great responsibilities on the party, which had been placed in power practically in all the States in India. This brought about a new situation and prominent Congress workers, who had been taking a leading part in the struggle for Freedom, had to leave their places of work and take up administrative responsibilities. A very considerable number of old Congress workers went to the Legislatures, both Central and State. This practically removed them to a fresh field of action. This resulted in a form of vacuum in the constructive field and a new batch of workers did not come forward in adequate numbers to take the place of these tried and experienced workers.

Congressmen who joined the Congress organisation before the achievement of Independence had to be prepared for sacrifices and suffering for a long time and naturally, the spirit of true service and work was upper-most in their minds and kept them solely preoccupied with the thought of achieving their main object, namely winning of freedom for India. No question of aggrandisement or satisfaction of personal greed had any place in their day-to-day activities. But, with the achievement of Independence and with the acceptance of office, Congressmen lost their sense of function which was felt by them so keenly during the struggle for independence; there was an unbalancing of the factors that guided Congressmen in all phases of the struggle for Independence. The positions in the Legislature or in administrative offices assumed greater importance and the attention of Congressmen was diverted towards a new object. Everybody seemed to develop a liking for this new form of life and, as a result, Congressmen showed reluctance to engage themselves in constructive activities with equal ardour and zeal.

(b) The Social life also underwent a change. The virtue of a simple form of life and the practice of personal religion, attended with austerity and simplicity, seemed to have lost its customary appeal and the moral values of life also came in for a lot of discount. The Ministers and the Parliamentary Secretaries seemed to switch on to a new form of life and the different standard of living attended with show of cars and big residential buildings became very glaring and created a form of cleavage between them and their erstwhile colleagues. A feeling of irritation and discontent also tended to grow up and the human nature, being what it is, Congress workers were apt to look forward to similar positions in their life, and were gradually divorced from their past adherence to constructive activities. Unfortunately in the social life also, it has been noticed that status of constructive workers was not given proper recognition as compared to that of the Ministers and even Parliamentary Secretaries. Even top-ranking Congressmen, still clinging to their earlier forms of life, seem to have been relegated to an inferior position in the social hierarchy.

(c) In the selection of candidates for legislatures and for local bodies also, unfortunately, the considerations that weighed with the authorities concerned included those of group politics, caste, community and *specially money* for fighting the elections. This also has been a deterrent factor.

Mostly, the claims of constructive workers were overlooked on the score of these superficial grounds of preference. This naturally resulted in a feeling of frustration.

(d) In the Community Development Projects, and National Extension Service schemes, Congressmen who desired to participate actively

suffered from two handicaps, that of age and educational qualifications. The prescribed rules demanded a minimum standard of academic attainments which naturally debarred Congressmen who had spent their life in the struggle for freedom and in carrying out the constructive programmes of the Congress.

In the Advisory Committees which have been constituted to include non-officials, they find themselves relegated to an inferior position. Their opinions are not given due weight and naturally the members do not feel like taking active interest in the Community Development Projects. It has been noticed that wherever the officials seek their co-operation earnestly, the response has been remarkably good. It is only because of the officious tone of the administrative authority that non-officials find no proper enthusiasm to take up the work.

(e) The Economic ideology of the Congress is not clear and radical enough to enthuse Congress workers and they do not feel the urge to give their best to carry out the programme as they had been accustomed to do earlier. Naturally they cannot create that much enthusiasm among the workers and other people and the work suffers thereby. Zeal for work fades away. People are prepared to tighten their belts and make sacrifices and put in hard work, if they really feel that the next generation would be in a position to reap the harvest of their present sacrifices. They will be ready to deny luxuries to themselves only if they are convinced of the far-reaching results of the work which they are persuaded to do. The Economic Policy and the ideology behind the Five-Year Plan do not inspire sufficient confidence. It is felt that even the policies enunciated in the Five-Year Plan have not been

properly implemented. There is, therefore, no requisite urge on the part of Congressmen to devote themselves wholeheartedly to constructive activities for building up a New India.

The Committee gave very careful consideration to these aspects of the question and were fully confident that the right response from the people would be forthcoming if a practical and positive line of action was taken to improve the morals and stir up the creative genius of the people of the country who have given a remarkable display of their resourceful thinking and action. Once the right atmosphere was created, and the proper lead given, people would readily come forward and contribute their mite.

Recommendations.

The Committee made the following *recommendations* :

(i) An atmosphere of austerity and simplicity should be created and the initiative should be taken by the top-leaders, specially the Ministers and members of the Legislatures and glaring disparities in the standard of living should be scaled down. The difference that has grown up between Congressmen who have accepted office and their erstwhile colleagues because of the new form of living adopted by the former, occupying big bungalows, riding in big cars and attended with other paraphernalia should be done away with. That will be possible only if the Ministers take to simpler forms of living. For example, Ministers in the States should not be provided with free cars. If necessary, they may be allowed to use the staff cars only for official purposes. The bungalows also should be smaller and simpler. The elaborate security arrangements should be simplified.

Salaries of Ministers should be scaled down so as to make them more consistent with our economic conditions.

(ii) The economic ideology of the Congress and the principles underlying the next Five-Year Plan should be more radical and inspiring. Emphasis should be laid on full-employment, more production and greater social and economic equalities through decentralised and small-scale industrialization. A full and clear picture of what is meant by "Socialized Economy" should be worked out and implemented.

(iii) Due recognition should be given to constructive workers in the Congress organisation. A feeling should be created whereby they may get wider respect and better status in society.

(iv) In the selection of candidates for legislatures and local bodies, experience of constructive work should be given due weightage. This policy should be announced clearly from now.

Similarly, in selecting people for holding positions in the Congress organisation, experience regarding constructive work should be taken specially into account.

(v) So far as the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service schemes are concerned, the rules for the selection of personnel should make provision for extending preference to those persons whose antecedents display a spirit of service and sacrifice. Some relaxation should be made with regard to the age and educational qualifications. The existing rules should be carefully studied from this point of view and suggestions made to the authorities concerned for bringing about suitable modifications.

(vi) More power should be given to the Community Development Project Advisory Committees and their unanimous opinion should be given due weight. A form of convention should grow up whereby the opinion of the Advisory Committees should be made operative and should not be turned down by the officers connected with the Project Administration. In case the officers are unable to implement the advice of the Committees, a reference should be made to the Development Commissioner or the Minister for final decision. The officers should be directed to enlist full co-operation of non-officials in the implementation of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service schemes. Wherever possible, non-official agencies and constructive work institutions should be entrusted with specialised works in the Project areas. For example, the Kasturba Trust Centres, wherever they function properly, can take up the work of maternity and child welfare schemes within the Project areas. The services of the Bharat Sewak Samaj should also be fully utilised for securing the participation and co-operation of the people in the execution of the Plan.

(vii) Instead of giving a long list of constructive work, it would be advisable to emphasise on one or two items at a time in order to focus special attention on them.

In each Congress Session, special emphasis may be given to some forms of constructive work and Congressmen should be asked to organise these forms of constructive work throughout the country and a full report of the constructive work done in the course of the year should be submitted by the Pradesh Congress Committees before the next Congress Session.

(viii) The Committee discussed at length the desirability of concentrating on Co-operative activities. It was felt that the main emphasis should be laid on the development of the Co-operative movement in determining the priority in constructive work and that suitable psychology had to be created for it. By way of example, it was suggested that multipurpose co-operative societies should be formed in the villages to undertake the work, in which most of the members should feel interested, such as better farming, dairy farming, Khadi spinning and weaving, consumers' stores, marketing, etc.

It would be in accordance with the declared policy of the Congress to establish a Co-operative Commonwealth in the country, if the Congress organisation aimed at establishing multipurpose Co-operative Societies with suitable changes through the agency of single purpose societies in each village or group of villages. These multipurpose societies can also mobilise local resources, including finance, and organise subsidiary industries, such as dairy farming, cottage and village industries and help agriculturists and the village craftsmen in the marketing of their produce. Tapping of local financial potentialities specially in the rural areas through the Co-operative Societies should be fully emphasised. Early arrangements should be made for imparting training to Congress workers in the matter of organisation and running of Co-operative Societies.

It is found that the Central Co-operative Act, in many cases, serves as a hindrance to the smooth working of Co-operative Societies. It is, therefore, advisable to amend this Act, wherever necessary. A Co-operative movement will be able to succeed in India only if it springs up spontaneously from below.

Congressmen should try to support the Community Centres in the rural areas as a nucleus of constructive activities. The local school or any other public building could be used for this purpose.

Welfare work among the labour class both in the cities and villages should also be given due importance by all Congressmen. In the villages the importance of organising agricultural labour cannot be overestimated.

(ix) Special arrangements should be made for holding training classes and camps to make the workers fully conversant with the principles, theory and practice of Co-operation and other items of constructive work specially connected with the Development Projects in the Five-Year Plan.

To begin with, the A.I.C.C. may conduct such camps for prominent workers from each Pradesh. Each Pradesh in turn may hold such camps for workers from the districts. The duration of these camps should not be too short or too long. It may vary from 10 to 15 days. Suitable courses of study and instruction should be prepared by the A.I.C.C. Office for conducting such camps. Persons attending such camps should be top-ranking Congress workers, including the office-bearers of the PCCs, and similarly prominent workers of the District, including the office-bearers of the DCCs, should attend the camps organised by the PCCs. In the conduct of such camps, the help of the Congress Seva Dal should specially be taken.

(x) The A.I.C.C. may also appoint a few representatives to go round the Pradeshes and report on the constructive work that is done by the Active members. This will help in weeding out undesirable elements from the list of Active members. Thus the real workers would be retained on

the rolls. The Active members should be strictly selective and all attempts to enrol them on mass scale, without looking into the record of their active participation in the constructive work, should be discouraged and wrong persons should be eliminated with a strong hand.

(Sd.) K. N. KATJU
 KHANDUBHAI DESAI
 GULZARILAL NANDA
 K. P. MADHAVAN NAIR
 MANICKYALAL VERMA
 DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN
 S. N. AGARWAL

New Delhi
 December 15, 1954

APPENDIX I

Items of Constructive Work as approved by the Working Committee

1. Bhoodan-Yagna.
2. Khadi and Village Industries.
3. Organisation of Kisans.
4. Implementation of the Five-Year Plan.
5. Prohibition.
6. Welfare of Harijans and Adivasis.
7. New or Basic Education.
8. Social or Adult Education.
9. Sanitation, Health and Hygiene.
10. Propagation of Rashtrabhasha and regional Languages.
11. Organisation of students.
12. Uplift of women.
13. Local Projects.
14. Swadeshi.
15. Combating Communalism.
16. Organisation of Labour.
17. Anti-Corruption Drive.
18. Anti-Adulteration Work.
19. Small Savings Movement.
20. Food Self-Sufficiency Campaign.
21. Unemployment Relief.
22. Economic Equality.
23. Relief Work.
24. Parliamentary Work.
25. Congress Organisation.
26. Co-operative Movement.

APPENDIX II

Resolution Adopted by the All India Congress Committee

Ajmer—26th July, 1954.

Since the Congress has undertaken the responsibility and burden of the governance of India, both at the Centre and in the States, the parliamentary programme of the Congress is necessarily important and requires full and constant attention. But the Congress has always laid stress on constructive activities in the country. Indeed, such activities, on the widest scale, are not only important in themselves, but are essential prerequisites for the success of parliamentary work.

2. The strength of the Congress has come from its roots in the people and the service it has rendered to the people by its constructive activities. These activities have now increased and widened in scope and, in fact, cover all the developmental schemes in the country. Congress members of Parliament and State Assemblies must remain in constant touch with their constituencies and participate in constructive and developmental activities.

3. A special responsibility, however, rests on other Congressmen, who are not directly associated with parliamentary work, to devote themselves to these constructive and developmental activities. These activities include the old constructive programme of the Congress which comprises, inter alia, communal unity, work

for Harijans and Adivasis, and cottage and village industries. They should also include work for the Bhoodan Movement, the organisation of Co-operatives, and every kind of possible help in the developmental programmes of the Five-Year Plan. In particular, Congressmen should associate themselves with and take active interest in the Community Projects and National Extension Service schemes. They should do this not only through the Advisory Committees for these schemes, but also by offering themselves for the training laid down for village workers and other types of workers for the Community Project and National Extension Service Schemes.

4. In this way, the Congress will be directly associated with the great task of building up New India and Congressmen will come into close contact with and serve the people, more especially in the rural areas.

5. The AICC attaches great importance to this constructive and developmental work and directs the President and General Secretaries to organise this in an effective manner. The Pradesh Congress Committees should do likewise.

APPENDIX III

Appointment of the Constructive Work Committee

The Working Committee, which met on September 25, 1954, considered the resolution regarding constructive and developmental work adopted by the AICC at Ajmer. They also considered the various suggestions received from the Pradesh Congress Committees regarding the appointment of an All India Organiser. There was general discussion regarding the nature of constructive work. A Committee consisting of (1) Dr. K. N. Katju, (2) Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, (3) Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, (4) Shri Khandubhai Desai, (5) Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair, (6) Shri Manickyalal Verma, (7) Shri Deokinandan Narayan, and (8) Shri S. N. Agarwal (Convener), with power to co-opt was formed to report by the 15th December, 1954 regarding the ways and means to implement the resolution on Constructive and Developmental Work adopted by the A.I.C.C. at Ajmer.

APPENDIX IV

Proceedings of the meeting of the Constructive Work Committee

New Delhi—7th November, 1954.

A meeting of the Constructive Work Committee of the Working Committee was held on Sunday, the 7th November, 1954 at 4 p. m. in the office of the All India Congress Committee.

Dr. K. N. Katju, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri Deoki Nandan Narayan, Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair and Shri S. N. Agarwal were present.

Shri S. N. Agarwal read out the letters received from Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Dr. B. C. Roy giving their comments on the proceedings of the first meeting of the Committee which had been forwarded to them.

Shri Agarwal pointed out that the Ajmer resolution on Constructive and Developmental Work urged on the people to attach great importance to this work and expected that Congressmen would directly associate themselves with the great task of building up a New India. In particular, Congressmen were asked to take active interest in the Community Projects, and National Extension Service schemes. It was suggested that they should also offer themselves for the training laid down for village workers and other types of workers for the Community Projects and National Extension Service Schemes. Now the question was as to how the workers should act up to those suggestions. Advisory Committees had been

formed with Government officials at the head, and recruitment made by them of persons who fulfilled certain minimum educational qualifications. Congressmen felt rather handicapped by those conditions, and Communists and R. S. S. people were getting into these Projects taking advantage of their University education and other high academic qualifications which Congressmen lacked. The next question was how the workers should devote themselves to those constructive and developmental activities having, practically, no means of subsistence.

Shri Deoki Nandan Narayan suggested that there were five classes of workers who took some interest in these activities :

- (1) Sarvodaya Samaj workers, specially those engaged in Bhoodan work ;
- (2) Old constructive workers who had been carrying on work in Khadi, Gramodyoga, Harijan and Adivasi work, etc.;
- (3) Bharat Sevak Samaj workers ;
- (4) Workers of Government sponsored development projects ;
- (5) Congressmen.

It was unfortunate that there was no proper co-ordination between those classes of workers, and Congressmen were today playing rather a very minor role in this section. It was essential that Congressmen should be more earnest in undertaking these works instead of leaving them entirely in the hands of others.

Dr. K. N. Katju pointed out that it would not be practicable to undertake constructive work manned by paid workers at the early stages. It would not be possible to help needy Congress

workers by engaging them in constructive work with possibilities of yielding income to the workers themselves. Only people who had got other sources of income should be persuaded to devote part of their time to constructive and development work.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri suggested that Congressmen who were not directly engaged in Parliamentary activities should undoubtedly take up some constructive activities which had got immense potentialities. Shri Shastri also endorsed the viewpoint of Dr. K. N. Katju regarding employment of workers on honorary basis.

Dr. K. N. Katju pointed out that there should be a definite urge amongst Congressmen to take to constructive work and he felt that the very idea of improving the lot of our countrymen, raising the standard of living of the people, of setting up ideal forms of villages and towns and ultimately making the country glorious not through physical prowess, but through its achievements, was sufficient to enthuse the workers and give them stimulus to take up constructive efforts. The Congress President was laying stress on this fact in his speeches and writings. It was the full appreciation of his viewpoint that would create a dynamic force in the country. He felt that a picture of a model village should be drawn up and that would serve as a stimulating factor to the villagers to come forward with their hearty co-operation and voluntary efforts in building up their respective areas towards the state of perfection as envisaged in the picture of the model village.

Shri S. N. Agarwal pointed out that co-operation from the public was not inconsiderable if the right approach could be made. Indeed,

the party in power had to work at a certain disadvantage also. People were naturally inclined to associate the Party with all the sins of omission and commission of the administrative machinery. Shri Agarwal felt that the economic ideology of the Congress had to be clarified and definitely laid down. 'Mixed Economy,' as it was termed, did not bring any vivid picture before the people. That was why they were apt to be bewildered by the apparent inconsistencies following from the working of that system. Shri Agarwal further pointed out that the budgets that were framed by the Government in power were generally city-biased and it was essential that priority should be determined in terms of the satisfaction of the needs of the poorest man ascertained from a very objective study of the situation, both urban and rural and the people should be made to feel that the Governments were keenly alive to the sense of urgency and were endeavouring to find effective remedies for the same.

Shri Agarwal gave some account of the viewpoints expressed by Shri Vinoba Bhave whom he met recently in Bihar. Shri Vinoba was very keen that there should be more intimate co-operation amongst the workers who took interest in the constructive and developmental activities. According to him the Economic ideology of the Congress was not clear enough and did not help to promote better relations between the Congress and the constructive workers. This was also the feeling of the constructive workers whom he had contacted. By way of instance—Shri Vinoba pointed out that the floods of Bihar did not pain him so much as the piteous economic condition of the rural population of Bihar who had no subsidiary sources of livelihood other than agriculture to fall back upon. After Independence, the condition of village industries had gradually

deteriorated. Before Independence the question of winning the Freedom of the country stimulated the people to undergo sacrifice. What was the stimulating factor today ? They had to find new 'urges' for enthusing the workers.

With regard to Active Members, Vinobaji pointed out that despite the conditions imposed by the Working Committee and definitely laid down in the Congress Constitution, the active members did not really fulfil the required criteria for admission to the Congress fold and no strict conditions were complied with. It was essential that a minimum sacrifice should be imposed on the workers who should give a practical demonstration of their earnestness by fulfilling those conditions. Standard of living of the people had to be raised and all unnecessary show of grandeur and pomp should be avoided.

Dr. K. N. Katju in the end again laid stress on the fact that constructive work at the start should be on voluntary basis and as the work progressed some provision might be made to make payment to some workers. Paid worker should come at a later stage. Villagers should be persuaded to work for the collective betterment of the village by devoting a portion of their time. He (Dr. Katju) cited an instance, namely, animal husbandry. The yield of milk was found to be very low in rural areas, which could with profit be increased by a planned process. This form of work should be taken up by public-spirited villagers who had a genuine feeling for improving the lot of the village people and thereby ennoble the country.

It was decided that the next meeting of the Committee would be held on or about November 26, 1954.

APPENDIX V

Proceedings of the meeting of the Constructive Work Committee

New Delhi—25th November, 1954.

The first meeting of the Constructive Work Committee appointed by the Working Committee on the 25th September 1954 was held in the A.I.C.C. Office at 3 p.m. on the 1st October 1954. Dr. K.N. Katju, Shri Manickyalal Verma, Shri K.P. Madhavan Nair, Shri Deokinandan Narayan and Shri S. N. Agarwal attended. Shri Balvantray Mehta also attended by special invitation.

At the outset the members took up the question of finding out the exact significance of the term 'Constructive Work'.

Dr. Katju suggested that Co-operative movement should form the essential factor in any constructive effort undertaken by workers for augmenting the national resources. All encouragements should be given to the people to take to the co-operative way of living and the main emphasis should be laid on the development of co-operative movement in determining the priority in constructive work. A suitable psychology had to be created for it. By way of illustration, Dr. Katju suggested that multipurpose Co-operative Societies should be formed in the villages to undertake work in which most of the members should feel interested such as :

- (a) Better farming, seeds, stores, improved system of cultivation, etc.;

- (b) Dairy farming—Animal husbandry ;
- (c) Khadi—Spinning and weaving, etc. ;
- (d) Consumers' Stores—dealing with salt, oil, sugar, etc. ;
- (e) Marketing.

Shri S. N. Agarwal pointed out that constructive work was not the business of a limited few. It was essentially a matter of right approach and outlook. A majority of the people should be persuaded to join the venture with sincere earnestness so as to put to effective use the man-power and the available resources. The Congress as a whole should become an effective instrument of a constructive revolution in the country. The formation of multipurpose co-operative movement would, indeed, be very helpful in raising the standard of living of the villagers and in giving adequate facilities to them for participating in constructive efforts. The success of this enterprise depended on education and experience and some training needed to be imparted to workers interested in the same. Very few Congressmen knew about the co-operative movement and they should have to qualify themselves for the task by proper study. Literature in simple languages has to be printed.

Shri Verma suggested that experienced persons should be specially chosen for this technical task and given charge of particular zones, so that they might build up the organisation on a planned basis and give a driving force to the work itself.

Shri S. N. Agarwal and Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair pointed out that the Committees for undertaking Community Projects and National Extension Services were constituted in a manner which did not encourage Congressmen and other social

workers to associate themselves with them ; rather these Committees were mostly official-ridden. The Government selected people on salary basis after regular advertisement and notification and generally Congressmen were left out.

Shri Agarwal suggested that the moot question was to find out ways and means as to how Congressmen could take a more active part in Government sponsored activities—Community Projects, National Extension Services and other social welfare programmes. The terms of recruitment should be made easier in the case of workers who participated in the national struggle. The second question that had to be taken into account was to find out the method of establishing proper relationship of Congress workers with the Constructive Work agencies that had been operating in different parts of the country. All the Congress Committees should be nuclei of Constructive Work and it should be seen that the activities of these Committees were not strictly limited to only election campaigns, divorced from constructive efforts and social welfare activities.

Shri Balwantray Mehta raised the question whether Congressmen should work through Government sponsored institutions or through independent organisations, like the Sarvodaya Samaj, Bharat Sevak Samaj or whether Congress Committees should have full fledged Constructive Programme Departments to carry out constructive work amongst the people in their own way. Shri Mehta suggested that Congress Committees would do well in giving full co-operation to the activities undertaken by the Government and also other social welfare agencies. The Congress workers should also help the Sarvodaya Samaj work and other activities undertaken by the Bharat Sevak Samaj. This would create a proper

atmosphere for accelerating constructive work and, at the same time, keep Congressmen in direct touch with the same and give them proper scope for expressing themselves fully, instead of frittering away their energies in group politics.

Shri Deokinandan Narayan made a reference to the Development Boards that have started working in the villages of Bombay State with Congressmen actively working in the same.

Dr. Katju suggested that Congressmen should have a feeling of self-confidence in themselves and should try to organise constructive work in their respective areas on the assumption that they would get nothing from the Government and that they should try to mobilise the local resources as best as possible to carry out the work undertaken by them. Once the right spirit was created, it could be reasonably expected that the work would not suffer for lack of resources.

It was decided that suggestions should be invited from the members of the Working Committee and P. C.Cs. on the lines indicated in the discussions and that the Committee should meet on 7th November, 1954 to examine those suggestions and make its own recommendations to the Working Committee.

APPENDIX VI

Proceedings of the meeting of the Constructive Work Committee

New Delhi—26th November, 1954.

A meeting of the Constructive Work Committee of the Working Committee was held at 5 p. m. on 26th November, 1954, in the A.I.C.C. Office. Dr. K.N. Katju, Shri G. L. Nanda, Shri Khandubhai Desai, Shri K.P. Madhavan Nair, Shri Manikyalal Verma and Shri S. N. Agarwal were present. Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh, Shri Balvantray Mehta, Smt. M. Agarwal, Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj and Shri S. N. Mishra also attended by special invitation.

(1) At the outset, Shri S. N. Agarwal read out a letter from Shri Morarji Desai, who agreed with the suggestion made by Dr. Katju that co-operatives should form the essential factor in any constructive work undertaken for augmenting the national resources. He pointed out that if the co-operative movements were to succeed, it was necessary for the Congress organisation as a whole to train as many social workers as possible to enable them to work with the people. It would be in accordance with the declared policy of the Congress if the Congress organisation aimed at the establishment of a co-operative multipurpose society through suitable stages. He further suggested that early arrangements should be made for imparting training to Congress workers in the matter of organisation and running of the co-operative multipurpose societies in particular, and in the principles of theory and practice of co-operation in general.

Shri Khandubhai Desai pointed out that co-operative movement failed to achieve the desired results because of the imperfect working of the Government departments, which were rather too official and lacked incentive to develop public contact.

(2) The Committee next started discussing the question as to how Congressmen could associate themselves with and take active interest in the Community Projects and National Extension Service schemes. In this connection, the suggestion of Shri Morarji Desai, as conveyed through his letter, was also placed before the Committee. Shri Morarjibhai was of the opinion that some representation of Congressmen on the Committees appointed by the Governments could not be effective by itself. Congressmen in general and the field workers in particular should explain to the people the benefits of the constructive activities undertaken by the Governments or other social institutions and secure their willing co-operation and participation in the successful implementation of the schemes.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh raised the question as to how far the Congress workers employed in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service schemes could continue as Congressmen. In his view, after their appointments they could be government employees only. Indeed, there was scope for creation of new jobs in the development works. In normal course, the recruitments would be made from people already in government employment such as Patwaris and Revenue Assistants. These employees should have new orientation and a change in their outlook. But it would hardly give scope for employment to outsiders. Of course, in Bombay, there would be fresh avenues of employments. Under the present

scheme, the State Government was expected to spend an additional sum of Rs. 12 crores for rural development works. The Government of India had agreed to pay Rs. 6 crores. 25% of the expenditure had to be made before the expiry of the first five year period. The additional outlay would give fresh chances for appointments and Congressmen could offer their services for those additional employments.

Shri S. N. Agarwal suggested that Congressmen, with their previous experience of rural welfare work and other constructive activities, would naturally be of more help to the development works and projects, if adequate opportunities were offered to associate them with the same.

Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh pointed out that instructions had already been issued by the Planning Commission regarding the appointment of village level workers. Though the minimum qualification expected of the candidates was Matriculation, with two years' training in social service, exceptions had been provided for and it was quite likely that Congressmen would not be seriously handicapped because of their lack of adequate educational qualifications and age restrictions. It would be preferable to have detailed information regarding the rules that had been framed by the Planning Commission and the Community Projects administration. In the Social Welfare Board scheme, it had been decided that 45,000 women would be required, such as nurses, midwives, health visitors etc. Some States had also agreed to recognise the certificates given by the Kasturba Memorial Trust.

Shri S. N. Mishra felt that there was large scope for absorbing men with proper training for social service activities and it was desirable

that Congressmen should be trained for that purpose in large numbers.

Shri S. N. Agarwal put forward the suggestion that Planning Commission and Community Projects authorities should take Congress organisation into confidence so far as their proposals for appointments were concerned.

Smt. Deshmukh informed the members that in Kurnool Congress workers were given trial but they did not continue in their jobs. It was, therefore, found advantageous to recruit the personnel from the local areas where projects had started working. These would ensure steady supply of workers who were not likely to desert without notice.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh suggested that it would be preferable to have proper information from the Pradesh Congress Committees regarding the state of affairs in their respective areas, as to how many Congressmen had offered their services and how many of them had been rejected and if so, what were the possible reasons.

Shri S. N. Mishra promised to give a proper statement regarding the nature of the appointments and the qualifications demanded of the candidates.

Shri G.L. Nanda was of opinion that eligible people from among Congressmen should be duly listed with a brief account of their respective attainments so as to match with the general requirements. A form of screening had to be made so that the organisation, sponsoring the cases of those candidates, could have a proper estimate of the standard specifications and the number of employments that were likely to be made available for the outsiders. Of course, some relaxation could

be made with regard to the candidates, who gave proper account of their services in the national struggle and their antecedents reflected the spirit of service and sacrifice which gave an assurance of their potentialities for social service and development works.

Smt. Deshmukh pointed out the difficulties she had experienced in dealing with some cases which came up to her because there was no proper machinery to settle the same. The moneys were advanced to the State Government for social welfare work and because of lack of promptness to deal with matters, considerable sum had been left unspent. The people found no remedy in the local areas and straight away forwarded their petitions to the Central Social Welfare Board.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh said that it was essential that money which had been provided for should be spent for the specific purpose and thereby it would augment the total volume of employment. State Governments should make it a point to see that they take prompt measures to draw up their plan and spend the money instead of surrendering the same. With the increase in the volume of employment, Congressmen also would have better opportunities to compete with others and if the subordinate Congress organisations were fully alive to the urgency of the problem, they were sure to take full advantage of it.

Shri S. N. Agarwal then pointed out that Congressmen could possibly take effective part in the Community Projects and National Extension schemes by (a) serving on Advisory Committees constituted with M. L. As., M. L. Cs., M. Ps. or Chairmen of the Local Bodies. In this connection he mentioned that in U. P. the District Congress

Committee Presidents had been included in the Advisory Committees ; (b) Congressmen could take active interest in the execution of the projects by undertaking to carry out fully local projects through non-official agencies. It had been suggested by some workers of the Sarvodaya Samaj that they would be gladly associating themselves with those projects, provided they were given adequate opportunities to work out the same according to their own ideas, with sufficient initiative left to themselves.

Shri Balvantray Mehta informed the Committee that in Saurashtra, some constructive workers were taking upon themselves the task of working labour and Harijan Welfare schemes. The State schools also had been handed over to their charge. Similarly, such group of constructive workers could possibly be vested with the task of executing some projects. With the help of the administrative staff of the Government, they could draw up the plan according to their own ideas and try to carry it out. Some such attempts were being made in U. P. through the Kasi Vidyapith.

Shri G. L. Nanda pointed out that there would be some practical difficulties in handing over the execution of those projects to an independent body to work it out in their own way. The Central administration and the State development Committees had their own plans, programme and organisational set up and it would be difficult for those independent Committees to fit in with them. Of course, the matter demanded careful consideration and some workable arrangement might be found. The conception was to evolve a unified administrative system so that the development works might be carried out through official and non-official agencies on a scientific basis. Social education implied new outlook and the

people working in different sectors should have a proper appraisal of the responsible role they were expected to play.

Shri S. N. Agarwal pointed out that the Community Projects were working under agencies which seemed to be rather too official. Things could be done in a more effective manner if the works had been undertaken with more of non-official co-operation.

Shri Khandubhai Desai suggested that local Advisory Committees should be set up so as to include non-official people. This would facilitate inclusion of constructive workers who sometimes were apt to find themselves out of tune with agencies, manned by purely officials, who were intent to carry out the work with gusto, which some times lost sight of the essential factors, determining the proper approach to the problems.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh was of opinion that the non-official people and specially the experienced Congressmen could reasonably provide leadership and fructify the Government plans, vis-a-vis the villagers, they must improve the spirit of co-operation. Co-operatives should be started under proper guidance and once the technique of co-operatives was made known and the right response was forthcoming, happy results were sure to follow.

Shri S. N. Agarwal also suggested that some directives should be issued by the Planning Commission and Projects administrative authorities with regard to the Constitution and function of the Advisory Committees. Such non-official Committees should be given more powers and the District authorities should give due weight to their advice.

Shri G. L. Nanda pointed out that the officials generally complained that the non-officials did not attend the meetings. On the other hand the non-officials suggested that the notice had not been duly communicated to them. Some workable arrangement must be found out and it was quite possible that with the co-operation of the non-officials, the present organisational set up would become more effective and the Government sponsored schemes would evoke greater enthusiasm among the people of the locality. The undertaking of constructive work by Congressmen undoubtedly added to the political strength of the Congress and if the spare energies of Congressmen were duly utilised in the constructive work, a political force would be generated which would find its consummation only in creative work, instead of frittering away their energies in endless disputes.

Shri Manickyalal Verma pointed out that the official attitude was rather unhelpful. Rates for construction works were assessed rather high and it had been found that non-official agencies could work out the schemes undertaken by the Government with less expense of money and with more efficiency. It was, therefore, desirable, that the non-officials should be associated in greater numbers with the local Committees and should have a say in the execution of the plans and programmes.

APPENDIX VII

Proceedings of the meeting of the Constructive Work Committee

New Delhi—7th December, 1954.

A meeting of the Constructive Work Committee of the Congress Working Committee was held at 5-30 p. m. on Tuesday, the 7th December, 1954, in the A. I. C. C. office.

Dr. K. N. Katju, Shri Khandubhai Desai, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri Deokinandan Narayan and Shri S. N. Agarwal were present.

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, at the outset, suggested that the Committee should go into the question as to how the internal strength of the Congress should be developed. According to him, the present political situation was not very happy and the political importance of the Congress organisation also was not firmly secured. After the achievement of independence, the Congress had not, as yet, organised itself into a well-knit political party. In the States, elections were fought on a group basis and the cabinets also bore the same stamp. Conflicts arose and then the High Command took steps to settle the same. This form of settlement was not based on public opinion and was likely to give rise to further complications.

Congressmen seemed to work at cross purposes as there was no consistent ideology to work for or a distinct objective to achieve. The question was raised as to why people should undertake construc-

tive work ? Where was the appeal ? What was the test for determining public opinion ? It was essential that the Congress should try to increase its political strength by a careful analysis of the present situation and create enthusiasm by asking people to take up a positive programme of action.

Shri S. N. Agarwal pointed out that the Congress should have a clear-cut social and economic ideology. The policy had to be determined in consideration of all the factors that governed our political, social and economic life, and the people should be urged to take it up in real earnestness. The true perspective should be laid before the people so that they knew where they stood, what they worked for and how to achieve their objectives.

Shri Nanda endorsed the viewpoint expressed by Shri Agarwal that a consistent and clear picture should be there so that the people might give their best in realising the desired objectives. The Congress should be a really active party, properly functioning for achieving its cherished goal and carrying the people with it at the same time giving a fillip to their intense urge to fulfil themselves. After the struggle for independence was over, it was necessary to fix up the goal, to prescribe the method of work, to give adequate training to the people and ultimately to bring about cohesion and team spirit amongst the workers. If they attempted to have a realistic appraisal, they were faced with the question: what was their objective today ? They were practically in the midst of a revolutionary situation. The party, that had drafted the Constitution for a Free India, must have a clear recognition of the factors that might follow from the working of the principles underlying the Constitution. Their achievements were undoubtedly not inconsiderable. But those had failed to solve the real problems they

were facing in the economic and political field. It would surely undermine the political strength of the Congress and any moment the Congress could be swept off its feet. The question that loomed large before Congressmen was the reluctance of young people to gather round the Congress and they had to create proper enthusiasm to gain their confidence and mobilise their strength for nation-building activities. A feeling must be created amongst the people that though the big and costly schemes sponsored by the Government were yielding no immediate result, they would bear fruit a few years later and that their constructive efforts would bring prosperity and plenty to the suffering millions. These facts had to be properly explained to the people, whom they were asking to make their own contributions in expectation of better days ahead. The Congress should guard itself against all internal weakness and external danger and take note of the situation, which was explosive. A practical remedy could be found only if they had their ideology and programme fixed up, with which they could go to the people and strive to persuade them to take it up as one of their own and work for its successful implementation. That necessitated a trained cadre of workers, equipped with proper ideological conceptions and with developed mental outlook. Enlightened public opinion had to be created and that would be the determining factor for deciding the national issues.

Dr. K. N. Katju felt that the Committee should discuss the question as to how Congress members who wanted to take part in constructive activities should determine their line of action and what was the real scope of their work. With regard to the question of creative urge, as posed by Shri Nanda, he was of the opinion that

the real urge came from the feeling that one should make the villagers happy, and raise their standard of living and infuse freshness in their psychology. It was a great task to make them alive to their own potentialities and the very fact, that something great was being done to make the village life better, was a sufficient stimulus. People did not bother about the ideology or political ideas so long as they were allowed to practise their accepted virtues of life prescribed by the religious principles and tenets they followed. Real development through self-help was the motto that must guide the workers who really wanted to make their country great and noble.

Shri Nanda pointed out that the problems—political, economic and social—as they were, could hardly be ignored. The Congress must be ready to face those problems. Vinobaji had devoted his life only to constructive work. But today he had left his centre of work and was moving from place to place to face this question and to give its solution in his own way. This proved the emergency of the situation and the Congress could not afford to remain a passive spectator. The work taken up by the Congress Governments and the Congress Committees should have a direct relation to the picture which the Congress was expected to draw up and in the fulfilment of which people were urged to come forward.

Shri Khandubhai Desai pointed out that in China, he found that the members of the executive including the Ministers, suggested a line of action which they proposed to take with regard to the nation-building activities and after they arrived at a concrete formula, public opinion was moulded by different stages to give its support to the scheme. Systematic campaign created an atmosphere favourable to the reception

of the scheme. When the Government came forth with the scheme, already the public opinion had gone in its favour and it appeared as though the Government had taken up the scheme only to give effect to the public demand. The technique was ingenious and gave a lot of help to the Government in power.

Dr. Katju was of the view that in order to create proper enthusiasm among the people, important workers should take directly upon themselves the task of building up a new India and concentrate their development energy in these works in all forms. Undoubtedly, the presence of those devoted workers would have far-reaching effects and the Congress organisation would turn itself into a lively one.

Shri Deokinandan Narayan endorsed the viewpoint of Dr. K.N. Katju and suggested that prominent Congressmen should go to the rural areas and give the local workers correct lead by working out those schemes elaborately.

Shri Agarwal pointed out that the constructive workers, who were really serious about their work, felt handicapped by the Government policy and it was a matter of grievance to them that their attempts had to a considerable extent been baffled by the policy adopted by the Government. Indeed there were a lot of sincere workers, who had nothing to do with power politics. But they also felt utterly frustrated by the attitude taken by the Government which ran counter to the policy advocated by the constructive workers. Moreover, in the social life also, it had been noticed that the status of the constructive worker was not given proper recognition as compared to that of Ministers or other members connected with administration or legislation. It was a noticeable factor

that once a Congress worker was appointed a Minister or a Parliamentary Secretary, a form of cleavage seemed to grow up between him and his erstwhile colleagues, and bring about a radical change in his form of living and social behaviour. Beset with the paraphernalia attached to those offices and their show and their grandeur, the Ministers and the Parliamentary Secretaries seemed to switch on to a new form of life which was divorced from all public contact and other social ties. This created a class distinction and the feeling of comradeship, which kept all Congress workers united in their struggle for freedom, faded away to give place to a spirit of envy that tended to grow up and sapped the foundation of the organisation itself.

Shri Nanda pointed out that the Indian psychology was conditioned by the acceptance of certain principles of morality and recognition of essential values of life. Nothing could carry effect unless it was related to these accepted notions mainly based on religious ideas. The people were apt to respect only those who practised these virtues in their day-to-day lives.

It was no show of luxury and material wealth that could make the Ministers or leaders dearer to the people. It was only a simple form of living and practice of personal religion, attended with austerity and simplicity and avoidance of ostentation that could make the Ministers and other Congress leaders the real heroes of the people. Conditions had to be created where Congress workers should get better respect than the Ministers or the Parliamentary Secretaries or administrative officials.

Dr. Katju also pointed out that the Ministers parading before the public with their big cars and other forms of gaudy shows and living in big build-

ings never caught the public imagination. The respect which Congressmen used to command before acceptance of office, was not there now. The present mode of living of the Ministers had only tended to create envy. Under all circumstances, there must be an overhaul. The initiative of adopting simpler forms of living should be taken by the Central Ministers and the sooner it was done—the better it would be.

It was decided that the members might send their own suggestions in the form of prepared notes before the next meeting of the Committee and that Shri Agarwal should prepare a draft on the basis of the suggestions received from the members to be placed before the next meeting on 11th December, 1954, for its consideration.

APPENDIX VIII

Proceedings of the meeting of the Constructive Work Committee

New Delhi—12th December, 1954.

A meeting of the Constructive Work Committee of the Working Committee was held at 10-30 a. m. on the 12th December, 1954, in the A.I.C.C. Office.

Dr. K. N. Katju, Shri G. L. Nanda, Shri Khandubhai Desai, Shri Manickyalal Verma and Shri S. N. Agarwal were present.

Shri S. N. Mishra also attended the meeting by special invitation.

The draft report prepared by Shri S. N. Agarwal, convener of the Committee, was put before the meeting for its consideration. In the course of discussion some suggestions were incorporated in the report and the same was finalised. It was decided that the final report should be circulated among the members of the Committee on the 14th December, 1954, for their signatures.

APPENDIX IX

Proceedings of the meeting of the Constructive Workers.

Madras—19th January, 1955

A meeting of the Constructive workers was held in the Sarvodaya Exhibition grounds, Madras at 9 p.m. on Wednesday, the 19th January, with the Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar, in the chair. Many prominent constructive workers were present. Shri Bhaktavatsalam, Minister for Industries, Madras, welcomed the Congress President and requested him to give his words of advice to the workers.

Shri P. Kakkan, President, Tamiland PCC., Shri Kamaraj Nadar, Shri Vaikunthlal Mehta, Shri Gajanan Naik, Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt, Shri Arayanayakam, Shri Manikyalal Varma, Sri S. N. Agarwal, Kumari Maniben Patel, Dr. Sushila Nayar, Shrimati Savitri Nigam, Shrimati Madalasa Agarwal, Shri Vedratnam Pillai, Shri O. V. Alagesan and others were present.

The Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar's speech was translated in Tamil by Shri Bhaktavatsalam. The President said : "I have to meet the constructive workers here as the Congress President. Nevertheless, I have not ceased to be a constructive worker. I have been in the Government. I have been in the political organisation. I have also been in the group of constructive workers. Unluckily, after freedom, it is considered that these three wings are different. Can we say mind, brain and heart are all different

though they are discharging different functions? Constructive work is the soul of our movement. Constructive work not only purifies the constructive worker but also purifies our society. We have to take up this constructive work because it purifies all of us.

“There were many intelligent people in the world, great politicians and great warriors in the country. But Gandhiji was great because he had learnt from experience the real truth. That is, unless man’s heart is pure, whatever he does, his act will be contaminated. We are all complaining that our freedom has been contaminated. We also equally complain that the organisation has been contaminated. Do we then mean to suggest that we are free from such contamination? To the extent we are purer, we shall be able to purify the organisation and the Government. The first duty of the constructive worker is to purify himself. Then the rest will follow as the day follows the night. This is what Gandhiji has taught us. He considered that whatever went wrong, it was because of his own fault or limitation. He never put the blame on the neighbour. That is why ultimately the British realised that he was their best friend. So also the other State rulers and the big zamindars.

“The second duty of the constructive worker is to serve the downtrodden. It may be possible for a Birla to serve thousands of people, because he has the necessary means. But to me and to you, the workers, who have no means, Gandhiji gave the means to serve the downtrodden. It may be that one may serve about thousand people. But our culture has taught us that whoever serves sincerely even a single person from the depth of his heart will merit the same goodwill of the person who is served. He is also rewarded. Gandhiji

again has also shown us the easy way to serve the common people. If he, the common man, does not find employment, he can be taught spinning. If he is not provided with a house, we can give him shelter and bread. If he is a Harijan, he should be considered as a brother. If we examine all the twenty splendid items of the Constructive Programme, we would find that they will not cost us a single pie and we would be in a position to help the common people as brothers and sisters.

“The third important constructive work is to create an atmosphere in the society. The basis of the present civilisation, the Western civilisation as it is called, is in terms of money. The basis of our constructive programme is the creative work of any individual. The Western civilisation has made us slaves to money. The constructive programme aims at revitalisation of the nation by creating and re-creating the urge in them for such creative work. As I went round the exhibition yesterday, I saw some fine workers, and their efficiency can be compared to any one in the world. But, why then is their poverty and why should all of them not work ? It is because the society has not supported them to-day. It is because of the fault of the society that they are poor and suffering. The society has not discharged its duty towards them.

“The human life is a precious thing. If one takes away somebody's purse it is called stealing. If one is prevented or deprived from doing creative work, it is not considered as stealing. We do want more money. We want more food for them. Our purpose is to revitalise our society and to give them opportunities satisfying their creative urge. This is the idea behind the charkha movement started by Gandhiji. That is why Gandhiji said ‘Swaraj hangs by the thread that I spin by the

charkha'. We have attained freedom through Gandhiji. We have faced many difficulties. and problems like refugees and food. We are now taking up the major problem of reorganising the society. Time has come when the constructive workers will have to play a greater role, more and more effective role, in this field. Great accomplishments cannot be achieved without overcoming troubles and difficulties. Obstacles are the test of our faith in our programme. A person, who is not prepared to face the obstacle, is not prepared to allow his faith to be tested. So, we are all out for the test. What is the quality of our faith in the constructive programme? Was it simply limited to the attainment of freedom? Not a bit.

"The constructive programme envisaged by Gandhiji was not limited to the attainment of political freedom. He wanted to create a social order based on non-violence which is not possible unless the constructive programme takes effective roots in the hearts of our community. I hear people complaining about the disputes about elections and other things. My reply is that all this is due to lack of constructive work among them. Just as any human body requires some kind of exercise, it is the spirit that requires some kind of exercise. Service to the people through the constructive programme is also a kind of exercise for our hearts. It will enrich the life as well as our nation and usher in a social order based on non-violence. It is a very big project.

"Our constructive work is the biggest project ever conceived by humanity. Can any one cite a single instance where any social order based on the concept of Sarvodaya has been attempted? Every one can see what great effort is necessary to achieve that objective. Let us achieve this through unity and let us work together, whether

in the administrative or in the political organisation, on the constructive side of it. Again that could be done only by strengthening ourselves. If we are divided, the only result will be that our strength will go and we all will be weakened considerably. One may not know what kind of social order will then take its root in India. I have come here to-day to assure you on behalf of the organisation every help and co-operation. So far as the organisation is concerned, it has interested itself equally in the constructive aspect of the activities as in the political and administrative work."

Shri Vedrathnam Pillai also spoke on the importance of the Constructive Programme initiated by Gandhiji. Kumari Maniben Patel addressing the gathering in Hindi asked the people to have courage, confidence and faith and pointed out that the Governments have been doing their best to improve the condition of the people in general and it was essential that the people of the country should come forward to contribute their mite towards development programmes initiated by the Governments.

At this stage, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru came to the meeting. Shri Kamaraj Nadar welcoming the Prime Minister said that they all should adopt right methods to achieve economic salvation and that could be achieved only through the constructive programme enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. He requested the Congress workers to fully co-operate with the authorities in ushering a new era in the rural parts. •

Shri V. L. Mehta, Chairman of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, requested Shri Nehru to address the gathering.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru then addressed the gathering. He said that after a great struggle through non-violence, India had attained political Swaraj. It had enormous problems to tackle. One should understand their relative importance and determine the priority. Otherwise, there was the risk of getting oneself lost in the vague attempt to find the solution.

The main problem before the country was to improve the living conditions of the people. There was some discussion in the Subjects Committee about the establishment of a Socialistic Pattern of Society in India. An amendment was moved to replace the word 'Socialistic' by 'Sarvodaya' for such a pattern of society. Of course, 'Sarvodaya' was a very appropriate term and one should strive for its full realisation. But it had a concept of its own and Vinobaji had been working out a revolution in his unique way propagating the ideals of Sarvodaya. Whatever name they might use, the ultimate object was to change the living conditions of the people and revolutionise their outlook with respect to the social order.

The main question was as to how it could be brought about. India was a big country and the problems were varied, difficult and complicated. Eighty percent of the people lived in rural areas and, as such, any scheme for the rural welfare of the people should relate itself to the development of rural areas. The Second Five-Year Plan should lay emphasis on this factor of achieving "Samajvad". The standard of living of the people should be raised and more avenues for employment be opened. Development of large-scale industries was not the only panacea. Village and Small-scale industries had to be started on a very vast scale and Khadi was to play a leading role.

It was positive work that counted and the people should devote themselves earnestly to the carrying out of the Constructive programme. Gandhiji gave us a long list which was not exhaustive. It was drawn up when the struggle for independence was going on. Now that India was free, more responsibilities devolved on the workers and the base had to be built up strongly through the implementation of the Constructive programme.

Shri Nehru then referred to the National Extension Service and Community Projects and pointed out that the stupendous work launched by the Government all over the country depended for its success on the full co-operation of the people. These schemes afforded opportunities for utilising the productive efforts of millions of people and for the effective use of the unused man-power. In the next 5 or 6 years, the projects would cover the entire country. The main object was to create conditions that would remove the present inequalities and provide larger employment opportunities to the villagers. All these projects of national development should be viewed with great interest, as it would help positively the nation's stride towards prosperity and progress. The future of India depended to a considerable extent on the success of constructive efforts undertaken by the workers, who had a definite role to play in accelerating the work by their devoted zeal and fervour.

APPENDIX X

Resolution adopted by the Sixtieth Session of the Indian National Congress

Avadi (Madras)—21st to 23rd January 1955.

This Congress endorses and commends the resolution on "Constructive and Developmental Work" passed by the A.I.C.C. at Ajmer on July 24th, 1954.

APPENDIX XI

Decisions taken by the Working Committee on March 6, 1955

1. One of the General Secretaries will be in-charge of Constructive Work.

2. The country should be divided. for the purpose of organising constructive work, into six zones as follows :

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>North Zone</i> | 2. <i>South Zone</i> |
| Punjab | Travancore-Cochin |
| Himachal Pradesh | Malayala |
| Rajasthan | Mysore |
| Ajmer | Tamilnad |
| Pepsu | Andhra |
| 3. <i>East Zone</i> | 4. <i>West Zone</i> |
| Assam | Karnatak |
| Bengal | Bombay |
| Bihar | Gujrat |
| Utkal | Maharashtra |
| 5. <i>Central Zone I</i> | 6. <i>Central Zone II</i> |
| Vindhya Pradesh | Vidarbha |
| Uttar Pradesh | Nagpur |
| Madhya Bharat | Mahakoshal |
| | Hyderabad |

Note : Delhi has not been included in any zone because the A.I.C.C. Headquarters can directly supervise the work there.

3. Each zone should have a Zonal Organiser.

4. The Congress President may appoint an Advisory Committee to assist him in his work.

5. The Zonal Organisers will co-operate with and assist the Pradesh Congress Committees and through them the District Congress Committees to organise constructive work within their areas.

6. The general pattern of such organization may vary from place to place, but it will be such as to ensure the following purposes :

- (i) Co-operation with the constructive activities now being carried on under the agencies of Sarva Seva Sangh, Bharat Sevak Samaj Khadi and Village Industries Board, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bhoo-dan Committee and such other Committees doing constructive work.
- (ii) Increased participation in or association with the activities of the Community Project Blocks and National Extension Service Centres.

APPENDIX XII

Syllabus prepared for Congress Workers' Training Camps and approved by the Working Committee

The Conference of the P.C.C. Presidents and Secretaries laid great emphasis on the desirability of holding Congress workers training camps in Pradeshes with a view to imparting the necessary ideological and intellectual background to the Congress workers. These training camps should be of at least a week's duration. Community spinning, common prayers and community singing of national songs should form an integral part of the camp. Besides doing physical labour daily for a few hours in connection with some development project, such camps should make arrangements for discussion and talks on the following subjects :—

History of the Congress :

A brief history of the Congress indicating the development of Congress ideology and programme particularly after the advent of Gandhiji.

Ref. Book : History of the Indian National Congress by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sita-ramayya.

The Objective :

Development of the aim of the Congress. Achievement of political freedom through legitimate and peaceful means. The objective of a Socialistic Pattern of Society. Its implications.

Ref. Books : (1) Presidential address : Shri U. N. Dhebar

(2) "Socialistic Pattern of Society"—
(A. I. C. C. Publication)

(3) Letters to P. C. C. Presidents by
Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

Comparative Study of Ideologies :

Congress objective and Sarvodaya. Communism and Gandhism. Principles of the Bhoodan Movement. The means and ends.

Books for Study : (1) Gandhi and Marx by Shri Mashruwala (Navajivan)

(2) Sarvodaya (Navajivan)

(3) Capitalism, Socialism and Villageism By Bharatan Kumarappa.

(4) Which way lies hope ? By Richard Gregg (Navajivan)

(5) Bhoodan Yajna by Acharya Vinoba Bhave (Navajivan)

National Planning :

Objects of the first Five-year Plan. Progress of the Plan. Preparation for the second Five-Year Plan. Its basic aims.

Books for Study : (1) First Five-Year Plan (Peoples Edition)

(2) India has a Plan (Publications Division)

(3) Progress Report 1953-54 (Planning Commission)

(4) Building from Below (All India Khadi and Village Industries Board)

Constructive Programme :

The right approach to Constructive Programme; Co-operation with non-official institutions like the Sarva Seva Sangh, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Harijan Sevak Sangh and Bhoodan Samities, etc., participation in Community Projects and National Extension Schemes, place of Khadi and Village Industries in National life, Basic education.

- Ref. Books:* (1) Constructive Programme by Mahatma Gandhi ;
 (2) Constructive Programme by Dr. Rajendra Prasad ;
 (3) Constructive Programme for Congressmen by Shri Shriman Narayan ;
 (4) Building New India (A. I. C. C. Publication).

The Indian Constitution :

Principles underlying the Constitution. The Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy. An outline of the Constitutional structure. Place of Village Panchayats.

- Ref. Books :* (1) Constitution of India.
 (2) Our Constitution (Publications Division)
 (3) Report of the Congress Village Panchayat Committee (A.I.C.C. Publication)

Personal Discipline :

Physical health of workers. Personal discipline and way of life.

- Books for Study :* (1) Key to Health by Mahatma Gandhi (Navajivan).

APPENDIX XIII

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with the Zonal Organisers for Constructive Work

New Delhi—13th April, 1955

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru met the Zonal Organizers for constructive work on Wednesday the 13th April, 1955 at 9-30 a. m. at his residence. The following persons were present :

Shri U. N. Dhebar

„ Govind Ballabh Pant

„ Lal Bahadur Shastri

„ Gulzarilal Nanda

Dr. Sushila Nayar

Shri Poonamchand Ranka

„ Vajubhai Shah

„ Jaglal Choudhary

„ N. R. Malkani

„ K. P. Madhavan Nair

„ Shriman Narayan.

At the outset, Shri Shriman Narayan explained the decision of the Working Committee and how it was proposed to organise Constructive Work. He also mentioned that several P. C. C.'s had already convened conferences of the District office-bearers to plan out constructive work in their areas.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said that it would be useful to organise constructive work among Congressmen and try to establish contacts with

other organisations doing constructive work. There were certain basic things which had to be taken into consideration before arriving at a programme for the zonal organisers. Some of these things had been described in the resolution adopted at the Avadi Session.

Talking about the Second Five-Year Plan he mentioned that the National Development Council which consisted of the Chief Ministers and some others would be meeting in the beginning of the next month to consider about the Second Five-Year Plan.

Stressing the need for statistics he said correct statistics were very necessary for drawing up any plan. Nobody could talk in the air in chalking out a plan.

The Congress had to shoulder great responsibilities. It had to do practical things. Other parties could talk in the air because they had no responsibility. Static approach did not help in the dynamic atmosphere of today. Real Planning had to arrange for the necessities at the proper time and that too well in advance.

In the absence of correct statistics no rigid plan could be framed. The plan had to keep in touch with realities and changing circumstances. In fact, it was difficult to draw up a plan for such a vast country. To fulfil the aims of the plan by peaceful and democratic methods was, perhaps, the greatest challenge that any country has had to face. He was confident that India would be able to meet that challenge. But it was essential that the public was taken into full confidence. That could be done if our workers could explain to the public the work that was being done by the Government and what the Government proposed to do in the Second Five-Year Plan. It was, therefore, neces-

sary that Congress workers were kept in touch with the day to day developments regarding the Second Five-Year Plan and were thus in a position to explain its implications to the people.

While it had been provided in the Second Five-Year Plan that heavy industries could grow for the development of the country, it had also been proposed that village, cottage and household industries would flourish side by side. While the Congress laid emphasis on the village and cottage industries because of the approach of Mahatma Gandhi and the practical aspect explained by him, economists and other people had also arrived at the conclusion that the development of village and cottage industries was necessary for various other reasons, particularly for providing full employment to the people.

Talking about social strata he said that it was necessary that the bottom was activized. The general idea was that improvement at the top, resulted in the improvement of the bottom as well. Shri Nehru added that the idea of Gandhiji, as he understood it, was to activize the people and raise the standard of society. He added that the popular response visible in this country was immense. Some times it became impossible to cope with the enthusiasm shown by the public, mainly for want of adequate trained personnel.

Speaking about the Community Projects and National Extension Services he said that some of the centres were working well. In his opinion, at times narrow and restricted outlook hindered the progress of such works. He felt that for some reasons heavy industries had to be encouraged while for other reasons the village and cottage industries had to be encouraged. The main

problem was to balance the advantages of both and take the correct view.

The Congress President said that work in three zones was to begin with immediate effect while in the remaining zones things would be finalised in about 15 days' time. He thought that the work of the zonal organisers could be divided into three stages :

- (i) Removing difficulties of the various P. C. Cs. which came in the way of constructive work, finding out the aptitude of the active members, and helping them in taking up constructive work according to their aptitudes ;
- (ii) Helping Community Projects and National Extension Service schemes ;
- (iii) Programme of mass education.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru enquired as to how he envisaged helping the Basic Education Programme.

Shri Dhebar said that he had two things in mind. The first was, instilling in the minds of youthful teachers a conviction in the need for Basic Education work. Secondly, Congress workers could organise propaganda for Basic Education.

Shri N. R. Malkani said that he was not very clear in his mind about the objectives of Constructive work. He said that it was very easy to work out any programme if the objective was clear, and the programme could be put in a proper manner to enthuse people. He further added that he was not clear whether the policy was for centralisation or decentralisation.

Shri Nehru said that conditions had to be created in the country for making it a self-growing nation. Creative tendencies had to be encouraged. It was not possible to fix anything very rigidly. There were so many factors which governed the progress of a country. The world factors also had their effect.

So far as centralisation and decentralisation were concerned, both had their good and bad points. For some things centralisation was necessary while for other things decentralisation was necessary. We had to balance various factors keeping in view the prevalent conditions. In the democratic conditions of India, decentralisation had a definite advantage over centralisation.

Shri Dhebar then mooted the question of finance for constructive work.

Shri Nehru said that the money base of the Congress was not very broad. Finance had to be arranged. At present the D. C. Cs. looked to the P.C Cs. and the latter looked to the A. I. C. C. In his opinion that was not a good approach.

Pandit Pant said that the tendency of our people was to look to the Government for everything. The organisation had to be made effective if it had to function well and handle public problems. It was a bad approach if people looked to police sanction for all kinds of things.

He felt that considerable difficulties would be experienced in working out the Second Five-Year Plan so far as small scale, village and cottage industries were concerned. In his opinion, the remedy could be found for achieving this goal if small industrial co-operatives could be established by the efforts of Congressmen. Unless the Congress could benefit people in some way or other it

would lose all attraction and the organisation would gradually go down. He felt that if real spirit of co-operation could be imbibed by Congressmen it would be very helpful and could give real strength to the organisation. It was absolutely necessary that Congressmen should work in the public on the economic plane also.

The Congress President said that there were two ideas behind the organisation of constructive work. One was to provide guidance to our active workers and the other was to bridge the gulf between the Congress and the Sarvodaya type of constructive workers.

Shri Nehru said that he entirely agreed with what Pandit Pant had said. Industrial co-operatives could be started for a variety of purposes. It would be good if the Congress emphasised the idea of industrial co-operatives. In China there were numerous co-operatives. He said that if the village and cottage industries were to flourish in the country the techniques and methods employed in those industries would have to be improved and modern methods adopted.

Dr. Sushila Nayar said that it was easy to produce anything by village and cottage industries methods, but the real problem was to arrange for their consumption.

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda said that very high ideals had been placed in the Second Five-Year Plan. They could be achieved only with the fullest co-operation of the public and for that a strong organisation was necessary.

Shri Nehru said that there was no dearth of public enthusiasm in India. Public co-operation could be had in a larger measure in our country than in any other.

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda said that it was necessary to define the permanent values and then they would have to adjust according to the changing environments. He said that he agreed with Dr. Suhila Nayar that unless consumption of products of village and cottage industries was arranged frustration was bound to overtake the producers of village and cottage industries.

Shri Malkani suggested that zonal organisers could look to the question of land reforms in the various Pradeshes as acceleration of land reforms coupled with the Bhoodan movement could bring very good results.

The Congress President said that if this work was given to the zonal organisers directly, they would come in conflict with the State Governments as land reforms had not reached the stage where one could say that there was no scope for criticism from the Congress point of view even.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri said that the zonal organisers had to be told the nature of their work. In his opinion it was necessary that at least one constructive worker came forward in each district to devote his time wholly to constructive work without caring for office either in the organisation or in the legislature to show to the people the spirit of sacrifice and to emphasise the importance of constructive work.

The Congress President said that he wanted to make available as much support to active members as possible and thus increase their strength. He thought that out of this band of constructive workers there might come forward a group who may be interested in the question of land reforms. This group could later take up this question.

Shri Jaglal Choudhary said that their idea was to build a society where there would be none without work, none without the basic amenities of life. In his opinion the most important amenities were : food, cloth and living space to every man. To this could be added two other amenities, namely, good education and medical assistance. In his opinion these were the five basic objectives which they wanted to achieve. It had to be seen whether the above objectives could be achieved by following the method of centralisation or decentralisation.

The Congress President said that Shri Jaglal Choudhary had raised basic questions. They had to decide about the nature of the work of the zonal organisers because from the next day hundreds of people would put them questions on all sorts of subjects which they would have to answer. As such, they had to give them some directions.

Dr. Sushila Nayar said that active members were not observing the rules. As such nothing much could be expected of them. She asked, "what was the Congress going to do with such active members who were not habitual wearers of Khadi or who were drunkards ?"

Shri Dhebar said that the question raised by Dr. Sushila Nayar was an important one. But in his opinion there were five things which had to be done :

- (1) Explain the basic values of life ;
- (2) Try for organisational purity ;
- (3) Explain our objective and the means we propose to achieve them ;
- (4) To explain what our Governments are doing.
- (5) Determination of priorities in their programme of work.

He added that he would suggest that the first step should be to assess the aptitude of the various active members and then allocate work according to their tastes.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri said that it should be the duty of the zonal organisers to organise a band of constructive workers in each Pradesh. These workers should set standards by setting examples themselves, not caring for any office. He suggested that the Congress should start work centres at various places. There could be two suggestions in this connection :—

- (i) Help those centres which have been started by the Government ;
- (ii) To start our own centres.

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda said that the Bharat Sewak Samaj had taken up work, to begin with, under four heads:

- (i) Sanitation programme;
- (ii) Supplying information and explaining the idea of planning from below;
- (iii) Developmental works including organisation of Youth Camps ;

and (iv) Cultural activities, social standards, etc.

The Congress President said that the zonal organisers were expected to contact the PCCs., collect outstanding constructive workers and then see how to utilise these workers and others for constructive work. They had also to see how Congressmen could be utilised for work in connection with the Community Projects, and National Extension Service schemes. They had also to devise means for mass education work keeping in view the local problems. At a later stage they could take up the question of imple-

mentation of the various legislations. Lastly he envisaged that the zonal organisers would work out a scheme for co-ordination of constructive work with other constructive organisations.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri said that the question of funds had to be seriously thought of.

Shri Dhebar pointed out that constructive work could be organised on the Saurashtra pattern where $\frac{1}{3}$ of the finances were raised by the Constructive Work Committee, one-third from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and $\frac{1}{3}$ was subsidised by the State Government.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri pointed out that if it was proposed to have constructive work under the auspices of the Congress it would not be possible to get money either from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi or from the Government. As such, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the share would vanish.

Shri Madhavan Nair pointed out that it was desirable to start work directly under the Congress auspices. If they did not do so they would be creating another set of workers who might ultimately go out of the Congress as in the past and that would weaken the Congress rather than strengthen it.

The Congress President said that it would be better to start constructive work directly under the Congress but the financial position stood in the way of doing so. Hence a beginning might be made on the Saurashtra pattern.

APPENDIX XIV

Text of Circular No. 10 dated April 16, 1955 addressed to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees by Shri Shriman Narayan

In pursuance of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on Constructive Work, a copy of which is enclosed for ready reference,¹ the Congress President has already appointed the following Zonal Organisers :

- (1) Dr. Sushila Nayar—North Zone
Address : 19, Rajpur Road.

DELHI

- (2) Shri Vajubhai Shah—West Zone
Address : Sanatorium,

RAJKOT

- (3) Shri Punamchand Ranka—Central Zone
No. 2.

Address : Abhyanker House, Mahal,
NAGPUR

The remaining three organisers will be appointed shortly.²

The respective PCCs. are requested to contact the Zonal Organisers and seek their help and guidance in organising Constructive Work within their areas.

A copy each of the English and Hindi editions of "Constructive Programme for Congressmen" pub-

1. See page 49.

2. See Appendix XVII.

lished by the A. I. C. C. Office is being sent under separate cover for the use of your office. You may order copies of the booklet for the use of your district offices and other Congressmen interested in Constructive work.

The A. I. C. C. Office has also started a Constructive Work Department for supplying the necessary information and also for keeping constantly in touch with the Zonal Organisers and the P. C. Cs. Prof. N. R. Malkani, M. P., has kindly agreed to be In-Charge of the Constructive Work Department in the A. I. C. C. Office.

Each P. C. C. should also open a Constructive Work Department as early as possible and appoint a suitable person to be In-Charge of the Department. It will be necessary to appoint at least one whole-time worker in the Constructive Work Department in order to organise work in the Pradeshes in an effective manner. Necessary funds should also be allotted for the purpose.

I have already sent you a brief syllabus for conducting Training Camps for Congress Workers. I hope you have decided to hold a Training Camp in your area as early as possible. Such training camps will be helpful in focussing attention on Constructive Work and in selecting the right type of Congressmen for different items of constructive activity.

I shall be obliged if you kindly keep us in touch with the steps that you take for promoting constructive work in your Pradesh and send reports of your activities from time to time.

APPENDIX XV

Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C.

Berhampur (Orissa)—9th and 10th May, 1955.

The A.I.C.C. takes note of the steps taken in regard to the organisation of Constructive Work and the appointment of the Zonal Organisers in pursuance of the resolution on Constructive and Developmental Work adopted at the Ajmer meeting of the A. I. C. C. and later endorsed by the Avadi Session of the Congress.

The A.I.C.C. draws the attention of the Active Members to the conditions relating to constructive activities mentioned in Article IV (b) of the Congress Constitution and expects that the Active Members would take up constructive work in all earnestness in fulfilment of those conditions.

The A.I.C.C. trusts that the Pradesh and the subordinate Congress Committees will render all assistance possible to the Zonal Organisers and will themselves in consultation with the Zonal Organisers devise ways and means to create the necessary atmosphere and take steps that would lead to the implementation of the Congress programme of constructive work without any delay whatsoever.

APPENDIX XVI

**Extracts from Circular No. 16 dated the 16th May 1955
addressed by Shri Shriman Narayan, General
Secretary, Indian National Congress to the
Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees**

I would particularly draw your attention to the resolutions on the Second Five Year Plan, the Organisational Affairs and Constructive Programme. It is necessary that our Congress Committees should play an important role in the formulation of the objectives and targets of the Second Five Year Plan. We have already distributed some copies of the papers circulated by the Planning Commission in regard to the outline of the Second Five-Year Plan. More papers will be sent to you as soon as they are available. I suggest that you may discuss these preliminary proposals and papers at a special meeting of the executive of your Pradesh Congress Committee. You may also ask for the views of the executives of the District and other subordinate Committees. You may contact other non-official and constructive work organisations in this connection for eliciting their views about the next Five-Year Plan, so that it may be possible for us to formulate proposals for the next Plan on the basis of widest consultation and co-operation of the people. The views of the P.C.C. and other lower Congress Committees should be sent to the A.I.C.C. in a systematic form by the 30th June, 1955.

The resolution on Organisational Affairs is of very great importance in toning up the Congress

and making it a worthy instrument for bringing about a Socialistic Pattern of Society. The recommendations of the Standing Committee on which the Resolution is based have been published in full in the April issue of the "Congress Bulletin". You should send the recommendations of the Standing Committee to all the District and subordinate Congress Committees for their information and implementation.

So far as Constructive Work is concerned, I am sending herewith a copy of the report of the Constructive Work Department of the A.I.C.C. It is necessary that each Pradesh Congress Committee opens a regular Constructive Work Department and appoints at least one whole-time worker to run it properly and efficiently. It should, however, be realised that Constructive Work is not merely a question of paying attention to a few items here and there. It is essentially a matter of revolutionising our whole approach in tackling various problems that face the country. The Organisation of Constructive Work only for the purpose of improving our chances of victory in the elections will, surely, be a narrow approach. Elections are, undoubtedly, important in the present democratic set up. But it is necessary that the Congress Organisation should now become predominantly an instrument of Constructive and Developmental work for building up a new, strong, united, prosperous and progressive India. It would be wrong to depend on such developmental agencies alone. In order to develop non-violent strength in the nation and create an atmosphere of self-help and self-reliance, it is necessary that non-official agencies and parties like the Indian National Congress play their adequate part in this mighty adventure of reconstructing Free India according to Gandhiji's ideals. Congressmen can play a very important

part in setting up a widespread organisation for establishing village and cottage industries on a co-operative basis with the help of Village Panchayats and other local bodies.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave attended the Berhampur session of the A.I.C.C. by special invitation and addressed the members of the Working Committee as well as the A.I.C.C. He laid great stress on the Bhoodan movement and desired that Congressmen should concentrate on this Constructive Work during the next two years. The Congress President, Shri Dhebar, Shri Nehru, Pandit Pant and other leaders also emphasised the need for intensifying the Bhoodan Movement. We did not pass any special resolution on the subject at Berhampur because the Hyderabad and Avadi Session of the Congress had already passed resolutions on Bhoodan and Sampattidan. It is, however, necessary that all the Pradesh Congress Committees and the lower Congress Committees pay special attention to the Bhoodan Movement during the next two years. It is gratifying to know that the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee has resolved to fulfil the target of 20 Lakh acres of land by the end of 1957. The Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee had also passed a similar resolution for collecting 32 lakh acres of land in accordance with the target laid down by Vinobaji. We hope that all the other Pradesh Congress Committees will also try their best to fix similar targets in their areas and concentrate on Bhoodan work with renewed vigour and enthusiasm.

APPENDIX XVII

Report about the Constructive Work Department in the A. I. C. C.

With a view to implementing the resolution on Constructive and Developmental work passed by the A. I. C. C. at Ajmer and ratified by the Avadi Congress, the Working Committee at its meeting on the 6th March adopted a scheme of Constructive Work : (*See Appendix XI*)

Accordingly, the Congress President has appointed the following six Zonal Organisers :

1. North Zone — Dr. Sushila Nair,
19, Rajpur Road, Delhi.
2. West Zone — Shri Raojibhai N. Patel,
Patel Hall, Nadiad (Gujrat).
3. East Zone — Shri Chhaganlal Joshi,
15, Allenby Road,
Bhawanipore, Calcutta-20.
4. South Zone — Shri Ramakrishna Iyer,
C/o Tamilnad Congress
Committee, Mount Road,
Madras-2.
5. Central Zone I — Shri Jainarain Vyas,
7, Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.
6. „ „ II — Shri Poonamchand Ranka,
Abhyankar House,
Mahal, Nagpur.

The following Advisory Committee has also been appointed :

1. Shri U. N. Dhebar — Chairman
2. Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant
3. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda

4. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri
5. Shri V. L. Mehta
6. Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar
7. Shri Shriman Narayan — (Convener)

Some of the Zonal Organisers and members of the Advisory Committee met Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the 13th April and discussed the future programme of Constructive Work by Congressmen.¹ A copy of the Proceedings of the meeting is attached.

To begin with, the following programme has been suggested to the Zonal Organisers and the P. C. C.s :

1. A survey should be made of institutions doing constructive work in the country. Detailed information about the nature of their work should be secured. A similar survey should be made of the persons doing such work and results attained. This survey should be made by the Provincial Congress Committees through the District and Tehsil Committees. The Zonal Organisers should undertake tours in their Zones with the help of the P.C.Cs. for making similar surveys. The Constructive Work institutions should be requested to supply information of the work they are doing. Such a comprehensive survey is necessary for getting a true picture of the work that is being done at present. The A. I. C. C. Office should maintain full and latest information in the form of charts, maps. etc.

2. The Zonal Organisers, after making a study of Constructive Work in the Zones should assist institutions and workers in remedying defects and strengthening the work. This should be done after taking into consideration the local circumstances and the aptitude of workers.

1. See Appendix XIII.

3. Where there are individual Congressmen doing useful work, they should be assisted to form Constructive Workers' Committees.

4. Each Zonal organiser should help the P.C.Cs. in setting up a Constructive Work Department with one whole time worker Incharge.

In accordance with the decisions of the Conference of P.C.C. Presidents and Secretaries held at the A.I.C.C. Headquarters in March, a number of P.C.C.s have already convened Conferences of District Presidents and Secretaries with a view to chalk out Programmes of Constructive activities in their areas. Several P.C.C.s are also organising Congress Workers' Training Camps during the summer in accordance with the syllabus sent by the A.I.C.C. Office. About 550 Youth Camps in different parts of the country are also being organised during May and June with the help of the P.C.C.s and Bharat Sevak Samaj.

The Bhoodan Week from April 13 to April 18 was celebrated throughout the country this year. In response to an appeal by the Congress President, Shri Dhebar, various P.C.C.s organised Bhoodan programmes in their areas to further this great cause. It is gratifying to note that the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee has resolved to collect 20 lakh acres of land in accordance with the target for Orissa laid down by Vinobaji. The Bihar P.C.C. has already decided to collect 32 lakh acres.

In order to be in constant touch with the Zonal Organisers and the P.C.C.s, the A.I.C.C. has already started a Constructive Work Department. Prof. N.R. Malkani, M.P., is Incharge of the Department and will work under the guidance of the Congress President and the General Secretary Incharge of Constructive Work.

